1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 the heaps of refuse many feet deep, chiefly consisting of the shells of molluscs and the bones of animals. Such kitchen-middens, as they have been called, are to be found in numbers all around the coasts of the islands.

In the case of the coast-dwelling communities the camping sites are always close to the sea-shore or to a creek, so that they can be reached by canoe. In the case of those dwelling [312] inland this is of course not so. In any case one of the chief factors determining the choice of the site is the existence of a supply of fresh water. This is of extreme importance in the case of a site to be occupied during the dry season when fresh water becomes scarce.

221 Within their own territory the local group is what we may
361 speak of as semi-nomadic. The coast-dwellers rarely reside continuously at the same spot for more than a few months, but [268] shift from one camp to another, moved by different causes. If a death occurs the camp is deserted for several months and a new one is occupied. A change of camp often takes place at a change of season, some spots presenting particular advantages, such as shelter from the prevailing wind, or better hunting or fishing, at certain times of the year. Another cause of the [364] abandonment of a camp by the coast-dwellers is that all refuse is thrown away close to the camp, and after a few months the decaying animal matter thus accumulated renders the spot uninhabitable. The natives seem to find it easier to move their camp than to clear away their refuse. The truth is, perhaps, that they are so accustomed to change their camp from one spot to another, in order to make the best use of the natural resources available, that there is no necessity for them to take those sanitary measures that would be essential if they wished to remain for many months continuously at the same place.

The forest-dwellers are less nomadic in their habits than the coast-dwellers. One of the reasons for this is that as they cannot convey their belongings from one place to another by canoe, but must carry them overland, the moving of a camp is a more tiresome business with them than it is with the coast-dwellers. During a great part of the year the forest-dwellers

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 suitability of a particular spot for fishing and turtling during
221 certain phases of the moon, on account of the character of the
166 foreshore, or the configuration of the coast, and the hope of meeting with better luck elsewhere—to these might be added the love of a change, and the prospect of seeing some of their friends; but it must not be supposed that a long journey is thereby involved; the move being generally made to a spot only a mile or two further on, and thus, by short stages, they sometimes proceed along the entire coast-line of their tribal territory, spending a few days or weeks at each halting place, according to the special attractions it may happen to possess in affording good sport on land or sea, or in supplying a rich harvest of fruit, honey, &c.

●364 3. The necessity of a migration is also frequently forced on them by the consequences of their neglect to sweep away the refuse of their meals, it being regarded by these *insouciant* and unclean creatures as not worth their while to take so much trouble, when only a short stay is contemplated.

4. That the necessity for observing *some* sanitary measures has long since been recognised by the Andamanese is evident from the existence of numerous kitchen-middens throughout their territory, many of which are doubtless of remote origin. These refuse-heaps are still in course of formation by communities living at a distance from Port Blair, and are invariably found near camping grounds which have been, or are still more or less, permanently occupied. In those sites, where they are not seen, evidence is at once afforded of the temporary nature of the occupancy: the rubbish and refuse of food in these latter places is only swept aside if the ground be needed for a dance, wedding, or other ceremony, so that injury may not befall the revellers through inadvertently treading on a bone, stone, or shell. Crows, hermit-crabs, and, of late years, dogs, are the principal scavengers of these ill-ordered and dirty habitations, the two former performing their useful office as soon as a migration takes place.

342 **Habitations.**—1. We will now pass to the consideration of the three varieties of huts which are commonly met with in the permanent and temporary encampments throughout the territory of the eight Great Andaman tribes, and which are known as *chàng-tē̆pinga-*, *chàng-tô̆rnga-*, and *chàng-dar̆anga*.

2. To commence with the *chàng-tē̆pinga-*, which is made by men, and erected in all permanent encampments as being the most durable. No particular kind of wood is used for the posts, which are four in number, two in front and two in rear, the former varying from six to nine feet in height, and the latter from two to three feet; upon these, slender rafters and two light transverse poles are secured, so as to form the framework of

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

tracted hardship and considerable risk, not so much from the natives themselves as from the implacable Andaman sea. We had a terrible time during several of our landings from the open Indian Ocean. Constant danger additionally stimulated the development of research in Little Andaman. All the Indians and the Burmese behaved bravely. Among them I wish to mention here my Indian stenographer, a married man nearing thirty, from Bengal: RANDHADIR KUMAR DEY, who, on 12 and 13 February, 1953, on the south coast of the island shared two frightfully narrow escapes with me. I am sure that neither of us will ever forget it. I later found a comfortable landing place, now indicated by floating buoys, on the north coast. Two other Bengalese assistants who were a great help to me in Little Andaman and had been selected from a number of young aspirants, are PRONAB GANGULI and BIMAL CHANDRA ROY. My work in the Andamans could not have been accomplished without them and without the initiative and encouragement of officers such as Dr. B. S. GUHA, Director of the Department of Anthropology of the Indian Government, Mr. AJSY K. GHOSH, the kind, open-minded Chief Commissioner of Andamans and Nicobars during my 1951-1953 stay there, and Mr. S. N. MAITRA, who succeeded Mr. GHOSH as Chief Commissioner. In a book that I am writing I try to point out the significance of my work in the Andamans, carried out with the help of such distinguished, and sometimes heroic, Indian collaborators.

I. Hygienic Conditions

1. Habitation

The nomadic Onge have two kinds of shelter: one temporary, the other permanent, used only for short periods at a time. The Little Andaman forest is full of abandoned temporary shelters; the permanent camps are fewer, mainly situated along the coast. They consist of communal huts, strongly built by a number of families roaming under the direction of a leader. The huts have a ritual significance, as we shall presently see. Inside each communal hut are a number of beds generally equal to the number of families. Small fires are kept burning day and night near the beds, a precaution that I was thankful for on many cold nights succeeded by hot days. The Onge require nothing more against the cold. In their camps they can withstand the heaviest storms and drenching rains. In order to avoid chills it is enough for them to protect their fires from extinction. This applied to me too, while living among the Onge. The warmth and the dry air ensured good health for us all.

A few additional beds are for the use of bachelors nearing marriage. Most of the beds are marginally and radially placed; a few are placed transversally. Normal beds accommodate father, mother (the Onge are monogamous), children and dogs, all in a heap. In temporary as in permanent shelters it is customary for families to eat separately, each close to its bed. The low, round roof of the communal hut does not reach the ground; a gap of 30 cms is left free for creeping in and out at will without using the main door (a simple mat to be lifted). Rubbish is thrown carelessly everywhere, e. g. directly outside the circular hut, which is consequently surrounded by a malodorous ring of bones, imperfectly cleaned shells, bits of rotting shellfish and other animals – a rich breeding ground for flies and various other insects that rapidly destroy everything edible, leaving the grass to grow until the next lot of garbage accumulates. Building and rebuilding a communal hut always on the same

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

spot for centuries leads to the formation of kitchen-middens [1]. In the temporary camps something similar happens: the only difference consists in the fact that rubbish dumps only accumulate at the back of the temporary shelters, as a consequence of their peculiar shape that I shall not describe here. These dumps are heaven-sent love nests for insects of many species, mostly flies of a metallic green colour. They follow the Onge from camp to camp and thrive on scraps from human meals. When travelling in Little Andaman I was unmistakably warned of the nearby presence of Onge camps by the appearance of those familiar living beings.

The filth that coats the floors of communal Onge huts offers an ideal breeding ground also for myriads of fleas. Dogs spread them all over Little Andaman. Owing to the fact that the communal huts are deserted for months at a time during the dry season, the fleas become hungry and assault human beings vehemently whenever possible. When visiting empty communal huts I myself, and the persons with me, were plagued by such assaults. Fleas advanced suddenly from feet to head in thick, shimmering brown layers, covering first our legs. We were obliged to strip and douse ourselves with insect-repellents. As for other parasites, including ticks and mosquitos, equally plentiful in Little Andaman, the Onge do not appear to be inconvenienced by them.

The communal huts are used for another purpose as well, unhygienic but of high ethnological interest: the interment of human corpses. When they die, the inmates are buried beneath their beds. In other words, communal huts are also cemeteries. Many human skeletons are found by digging under the beds. Until 1952 this fact was unknown about the Andaman Islanders although it is encountered in all Onge communal huts without exception. An analysis of this custom led to further discoveries: the Onge wish to compel the spirit of a deceased person to remain close to the living as a protection, so they offer it the communal hut for an abode, the idea being that a spirit cannot wander far from the bones of its former body. A series of Onge practices point to this belief: felled enemies must be burned and reduced to ashes in order to render them harmless. Their hostile souls, according to the Onge, rise toward the sky in smoke as the bones are consumed. For the same reason, bones of relatives are fashioned into necklaces. The most conspicuous of these is the *ibidaughe*, worn generally by women and young girls, which is made from a decorated human jawbone. The aim is to obtain the assistance of the departed relation in fighting illness and bad luck. Direction in hunting, fishing and even quarrelling is supposed to come from the dead kept close to the living. We can trace this belief on the connection between bones and souls to a remote origin: Southern Asia megaliths had, in my opinion, no other cause for offering shelter to spirits and promoting useful relations between the living and the dead. I reached this conclusion after studying the contemporary habits of Travancore mountain and other Indian tribes, particularly the Munda. In Nias we find traces of the same customs as among different peoples of Indonesia and Oceania, who

[1] I discussed this at the two international anthropological congresses of 1952 (Vienna) and 1956 (Philadelphia), and have more to say on the subject in my book about the Onge.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Cleaning themselves, to the Onges, means painting themselves to ward off evil and to remove, so they said, the smell of pig fat after the colossal orgies which follow a particularly good hunt, when even they find the stench too much. These orgies, which give them appalling indigestion for days, are followed by an apparently instinctive variation of their diet to raw or cooked vegetable foods. On three occasions from 1952–54 I was present at one of these solemn pork and honey orgies. The Onges ate almost till they burst, and then, hardly able to move, cleaned up by a grand painting session. The women do the painting, families vying with each other to produce weird new designs, which are then copied until the next feast.[1]

Fed and painted, the Onges sit down to smoke, using pipes made from crabs' claws. Still regardless of hygiene the pipes go from one mouth to another, the women smoking just as heavily as the men.

One curious anomaly is that the Onges do sometimes sweep the earth floor of the communal hut. The floor is not deliberately beaten down, but becomes hardened by continuous walking on it; in dry weather it turns to dust, which rises and settles everywhere, especially under the roof, where the lumps of cooked meat, fish and so on are hung. For the cleaning a broom or besom is prepared, well made with very hard, supple, palm fibres, bound tightly and carefully with cords made from reeds. The whole thing is about eighty centimetres long and as thick as a man's wrist.

The dirt is simply swept out all round from under the roof of the hut through the gap between the roof and the ground. In the course of time a ring of refuse builds up round the hut, forming a glorious breeding ground for insects of all kinds. When the hut has to be rebuilt, owing to the ravages of wood-worm and termites, the ring is levelled off to form the new floor. Since the same small, well-chosen site may be used for thousands of years, the hut ends up perching on top of a small mound of refuse dating back to very

[1] From one year to the next I saw no real evolution of art forms but cyclic changes of designs, with a preference for certain geometric patterns, at certain times of the year. Having watched various individuals of both sexes closely over a period of some years I can say that in the Onges at least, contrary to what is generally understood, the use of given patterns, and given kinds of ochre, does not correspond with given types of food. Any feast is always followed by painting, always with the weirdest designs possible, but always geometrical, never far from the current 'fashion', and never even remotely inspired by the basis of the feast.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

ancient times. Great Andaman abounds in these man-made humps, to which the name 'kitchen-middens' has been given, but none are in use today. In Little Andaman, on the other hand, many are still being built up.

The sweeping operations disturb clouds of flies and tiny beetles, light brown in colour, shot with metallic blue, with a highly domed back, and about five millimetres long, which always collect under bones and other human food refuse. Hordes of fleas, invisible in the dirt on the floor but multiplying busily, are also stirred up. Fortunately there are no lice on Little Andaman, owing to the absence of clothing and bed-linen, and the Onges carry no lice in their hair.

In fact the dogs' coats carry the fleas from place to place more than do their naked, smooth-skinned owners. Every time I went into a hut which had been empty for a time, as happens in the dry season when the occupants are away on a hunting trip, I was assailed by swarms of fleas such as I had never imagined! They rushed up one's body from feet to neck in absolute serried ranks, platoons of them, solid masses of tiny black moving objects. The only thing to do was to go out into the open and douse oneself in Flit, which caused them to retreat hastily. My camp-bed was always given a precautionary dose. Unfortunately Flit was not enough to disperse the clouds of ticks, tiny but dangerous, and a scourge in the forests of the Andamans. The Onges call them *anaghe* and thoroughly enjoyed helping to catch them on me in hundreds after every expedition into the forest.

None of these pests worry the Onges, who make no attempt to get rid of them. They leave mounds of filth round their huts or in their forest camps for them to breed in, and the light covering of earth or leaves which at best cover the Onges' faeces, deposited near the camp, was never any deterrent to breeding. The Onges never dig sanitary trenches or prepare any other form of latrines, even for their permanent sites; the forest is all concealing. However, they will never defaecate near, or in, a water course, even when the bed is dry, and when my men used the bed of a dried-up stream for the purpose the Onges protested to me, because the water would be contaminated. I was not disposed to contradict them.

In the forest, meeting a swarm of flies was a sure sign that we

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

ground. Two parallel transverse poles of equal length, one front and one back, complete the frame, which is lashed together with the usual rush fibres. The roof consists of fresh *Pandanus* leaves, palms, or grass. It never actually touches the ground, and food refuse is thrown out from underneath it in the usual way, covering the ground round the shelter.

The bed takes a little longer than the roof to put up, as a number of sticks have to be gathered to make the compact platform, raised about half a metre from the ground on four stout props driven into the ground, one at each corner, and a suitable trunk has to be found for the head-rest. Normally one bed takes an entire family – mother, father, children and dogs, all well packed on the platform with the inevitable fire beside. On rare occasions, when the shelter is intended purely for the menfolk on a hunting expedition, only one bed is prepared, but generally every hunter has his family with him. I have myself slept like this with the Onges on trips where the forest was too dense for any baggage to be carried.

As the kitchen-middens show (see p. 68), their permanent huts are, with very few exceptions, circular and are still extremely simple. The essential feature is the waterproof roof-mats, well overlapped, which form the enormous umbrella roof. From the outside the whole thing looks in danger of collapsing, but from the interior it is obviously safely held by a frame of poles, lashed with innumerable ties to stout uprights fixed firmly into the ground. No central pillar is needed, and when there is one it is only by chance; I saw very few on Little Andaman. There are no divisions into rooms or compartments – everything is open to the eyes of all the occupants of the beds. Most of these are arranged as the radii of a circle, fairly near the outer edge of the hut, the roof coming down so close to the ground that everyone sleeps with their heads towards the centre, but there may be some beds across the centre space.

At the circumference the roof is only thirty to forty centimetres from the ground, the roofing mats being well lashed on to uprights in case of high winds, and one can wriggle in and out of the hut on one's stomach, crawling over the refuse thrown out through the convenient gap. There is always, however, a 'proper' entrance, where one edge of the roof-wall can be lifted up. At the top of the roof, on the lee side, one section can be propped open on poles,

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

allowing the smoke to escape and letting more air in – a very welcome relief at times, even for the Onges!

I made sketch plans of all the huts I visited, with positions of the supporting poles, beds, etc. Two typical ones were those at Toqué-è-bùie and Tambe-e-buiè. In March 1952 the former had some parts of the roof missing, as the inhabitants had taken the mats off to make temporary shelters in the forest; when the rains came they brought them back and replaced them. This custom explained why, on Great Andaman, some obviously temporary shelters had roofs far too well made to be intended for purely temporary use.

Entering the hut at Toqué-è-bùie, by the entrance proper, one finds oneself facing an area with no beds in it. In the centre of this area, under the apex of the roof, is a fire, a little larger than those kept burning beside each bed. This is used for communal cooking during the rainy season; at other times all cooking is done in the open. The ground area covered by the roof was 9·12 square metres, its height at the centre 3·3 metres, and the external circumference 30·65 metres. Beyond this stretched the ring of refuse built up by each short period of occupation.

Unlike many of the huts of Little Andaman, Toqué-è-bùie has a central pole, not thick, but of a very hard wood. In a circle round this are ten upright poles, each about two metres from the central pole. Starting on the left of the entrance and moving clockwise their heights vary slightly.[1] Outside this inner circle of supporting poles are two more concentric rings of uprights, the first, with a radius of 3·65 metres from the central pole, consists of twenty uprights with an average height of 1·35 metres, and the second, with a radius of 4·53 metres from the centre pole, has an average height of 0·38 metres. In nearly every hut each circle of uprights is attached to the roof by a ring formed by a bundle of long canes, to which each upright is lashed. Another bunch of long canes runs transversely from the entrance to the opposite side of the hut, almost touching the ground at the two ends, touching the roof in the middle, and fixed to the rings of canes to which the uprights are attached.

The bundle of canes forming this arch support is clearly set in place after the erection of the first (innermost) ring of uprights, and actually lies on top of the ring of canes to which they are

[1] 2·45, 2·35, 2·32, 2·3, 2·45, 2·35, 2·3, 2·35, 2·32, 2·35 metres.